2: Schaden--32 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

164 /29 cont./
75 by the nocturnal dances in the open air. Furthermore, there is no possibility, under present circumstances, to subject them to any systematic medication; tuberculosis, which they call "peat" or "dry cough," is considered the result of sorcery, therefore to be cured only by measures of countersorcery.

158 /30/ Mental illness is rare, even though it is not difficult to find individuals with a "sick" emotional state and others who have frequent hallucinations. A crazy Kayová lived for several years at the P.I. Francisco Horta.

563 The resistance to crossbreeding weakens as contacts and
177 economic interaction between the Indians and the caboclo populations intensify. One also notices a close relationship between the changes in the religious life and the number of interethnic marriages.

563 The number of conjugal unions between Guaraní and caboclos is far greater than that between these Indians and elements of other tribes. For about twenty years some families of the Terêno
• [582] tribe, natives of Mato Grosso, have lived with the Guaraní of Araribá; to date no marriage between persons of the two groups has been verified; I know at this post, however, a couple made up of a Kaingáng /Caingang/ man and a Guaraní woman, whose life, by the way, is distinguished by constant domestic battles. Years ago a German, Grütken, also resided in this village, married to a Guaraní woman; some children of the couple now life near Bauru.

Mixed unions between Guaraní and caboclos are not rare, particularly in the villages in which the two have lived together for several decades. According to the rule of hypergamy, these unions take place between Indian women and caboclo men; the exceptions are extremely few; I have information about two cases in which Guaraní men constituted families with caiçara /coastal caboclo/ women from the coast south of São Paulo. Among the Nandéva the resistance to marriages with foreign elements is rapidly decreasing; and to these unions is linked more and more the idea of social ascent. In Araribá the Indian women married to "civilized men," i.e., caboclos consider themselves the
[582] elite of the group. The phenomenon obviously reflects the high degree of detribalization in which these Indians are found.

2: Schaden--33 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/30 cont./

563 [621] This does not hold for the Mbüá, who do not admit into their community any element foreign to the tribe. In most instances they do not even succeed in living in harmony with some Ñandéva family that for some reason has come to settle in their midst. I had information about an exceptional case: an Indian [582] from the Mbüá village of Rio Branco was said to have married a woman from the coast. I did not know the couple, who lived on some fazenda.

563 78 The Mbüá say that they cannot allow marriages with individuals "from outside" because the latter "do not know how to pray," that is, they cannot participate satisfactorily in the religious ceremonies "It is only true Guaraní who pray," an Indian woman of this group explained to me. /31/ The Ñandéva and Kayová, too, think that the "civilized ones" and the mestizos cannot be religious persons. The religious inspiration indispensable for the mystic communication with the divinities and the protective spirits is a privilege of the pure Indian. At various times in the coastal villages I have met a caboclo from Paraná, Leocádio Chagas de Oliveira, who says he is a Guaraní mestizo born in Catas Altas, in Alto-Ribeira, near the Paraná-São Paulo border. Even though he enjoys enough prestige [829] among the Indians and participates in the prayers and dances, even having taken the title of "yvyráídjá," they say that no yvyráídjá (protective spirit) could descend upon him, because Leocádio is not a member of the tribe.

563 177 These facts show, on the one hand, that the tribal religion is the strongest barrier against crossing with foreign people, and, on the other hand, that mixed unions cannot fail to affect the tribal life profoundly, reaching directly into the nuclear sphere of the culture, whose most palpable aspect is the performance of [829] the religious ceremonies. The Guaraní, principally the oldest ones, are fully aware of this process, and in their conversations they insist on the relationship that exists between the increasing number of interethnic unions and the phenomena of social disorganization and cultural disintegration. /Page 32 is blank./

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people: in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [109] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage: many men have a "companion" (txeirũ kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

• 582 They marry early: among the Kayová and Mbüá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

/75 cont./

582 171 Concerning the preferential marriage of the maternal uncle with his niece, noted for other tribes of the Tupi-Guaraní linguistic family (5).

5. /From p. 84 of the original source./ As for the Tupinambá, there seems to be no doubt but that they were familiar with the avuncular marriage; the Jesuit sources above all insist on the fact, there even being a kind of mythical foundation in a text by Father Cardim concerning the Deluge: "for it is said that the waters drowned and killed all the men, and that only one of them escaped on the high point of a Janipaba /genipap tree/ with his sister, who was pregnant, and from these two was their beginning, and thus began their multiplication" (Cardim, 582 1939, p. 142). -- With reference to the contemporaneous Kayová, the problem of marriage with the maternal uncle was taken up by Virginia Drew Watson, 1944. See also J. B. Watson, 1952.

582 121 I have not found any clear, credible, and unequivocal data among the Guaraní of any of the three subgroups. Information about its possibility were contradictory, which may perhaps be an indication of a pattern formerly in existence and now abandoned, or in the process of it. The fact is that the statements on the subject were made in general with little certainty, and that in reality I have found no concrete case of such a marriage. The information about this type of union in ancient times was also very vague: while some categorically denied having any knowledge of avuncular marriage, either as an institution or as a fortuitous case, others admitted it, but likewise the union of the niece 582 with the paternal uncle. Referring to the Ñandéva and Kayová, Marçal de Souza maintains that such unions are considered impossible, for one's nephews and nieces, the children of both

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were for- [115] bidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted 601 to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al- 593 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true 604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes 593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and [184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities 581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect 304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the [829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

/82 cont./

593 The bond of the daughter with her parents' family lasts much longer than that of the son; it goes on at least until her marriage. And even after she lives in her own home, the woman customarily spends a good part of the day with her mother, helping her with the domestic tasks.

57 606 With marriage the Guaraní assumes economic responsibilities that he did not know until then. Responsibilities in two senses: toward his wife, obviously, and almost always also toward his father-in-law. The economic autonomy of the elementary family is acquired little by little, that is, the new couples do not enjoy complete independence, particularly when they live in the house of the father-in-law of the husband. (It also occurs, though more rarely, that the married couple spends the first months in the house of the husband's father; in this case, only until they build their own home and are able to harvest from their own clearing.) Principally for the Kayová and Ñandéva the authority of the fathers-in-law is important; they exercise over the son-in-law (or the daughter-in-law, as the case may be) a hegemony identical with that of the fathers. To explain the [601] relationship, a Kayová Indian woman told me: "Itúva, the same as father." As for the economic obligations, however, I only heard references to those of the son-in-law toward the father-in-law, being reduced, as they told me, to some work on the latter's clearing. They are, besides, not very well defined obligations. Among the Kayová the newly constituted family immediately forms a distinct unit of consumption. Although the son-in-law usually lives in the house of the father-in-law for a while, the couples have separate clearings and even their own pots. The symbolic significance of the pot is interesting in this respect. The [582] Kayová of Banjamim Constant told me that the young man may marry only when he is in an economic position to buy the pot. The ideas bound up with the pot correspond in a certain sense to those that in Western civilization are sometimes bound up with the fireplace. In any case, for the Guaraní too -- in this case for the Kayová -- the problem of the domestic economy is a problem of the pot. -- With time there is a more marked economic autonomy

/90 cont./

881 the supernatural dangers stemming from such a delicate state. When
[582] it takes place, the boys' initiation, a collective ceremony that
[561] represents the ascension of a new age-stratum to the category of the marriageable, arouses the interest of the whole community. To be sure, that of the girl is an individual event, and, because of that, of much more restricted social importance, which is the reason that the ceremonial pageantry is considered dispensable.

881 Furthermore, it can be said that the Guaraní culture is of markedly
181 masculine orientation. The religion is, not exclusively, but pre-
562 dominantly, in the hands of the men, and it is through that that
[771] the dominant aspects of the cultural ethos are more manifestly and
[561] perceptibly expressed. It is therefore understandable that the things bound up with the masculine world, among them the initiation of the boys, merit more social interest or participation -- in spite of there not being (from the social and cultural points of view) a rigorous division between age strata, as we have seen above.

881 /91/ Why is it necessary to surround the girl with special care during her first menstrual period? She is on the brink of a new biological phase, and, just as on the occasion of her birth her father (and mother) must substitutively abstain from certain foods and activities in order that the newborn child may be able to survive, now the girl, through the resguardo, defends herself from the misfortunes that the new condition could bring upon her. The puberal resguardo should not be interpreted only in the sense of "rite" for the social "recognition" of biological maturity and subsequent possibility of marriage.

There is no doubt but that the first menses are regarded as the event responsible for the most delicate manifestation of crisis in the life of the Guaraní woman. In the three subdivisions of the group the puberal eclosion is regarded as surrounded by the gravest dangers.

Both for the state of the menstruating girl and for the period of resguardo to which she is subjected, the Guaraní use the designation ñemondýiá. Aside from this term, there is also used the denomination odjekóaku, generic, by the way, for the principal crisis states of the individual that require resguardo.

/97 cont./

881 825 [582] [624] Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a woman," that is, for marriage; whoever marries without having the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars, snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars. Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case, 881 156 the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Marçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

/99/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 621 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to constitute an organization of state type; in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest [596] [623] or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the authority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great-families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority 624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence 621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at [648]

/124 cont./

782 869 756 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be passed on by instruction. A fiandeŕú is created both by inspiration and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Dourados Vicente Jerônimo (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Marçal. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the oká (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 785 [184] At least among the Kayová and Ñandéva the acquisition of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the fiandeŕú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same holds for women who wish to become curers (fiandetsý, "our mother"); they start to learn /125/ from the time they are children and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Old Fernando told me: Ñanderú does not readily give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become fiandeŕú.

[869] [868] 756 159 [582]

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

[783]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú*[1] (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'i*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[2] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapú*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbarakú* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takwapú* and *mbarakú* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[3]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapúi*. The *tapúi*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[1] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[2] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

#174 596 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapûi* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[46] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole #174 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

361 342 Adding to the impression of the *tapûi* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapûi* (perhaps group of *tapûi*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapûi*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapûi*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapûi* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapûi*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit #174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

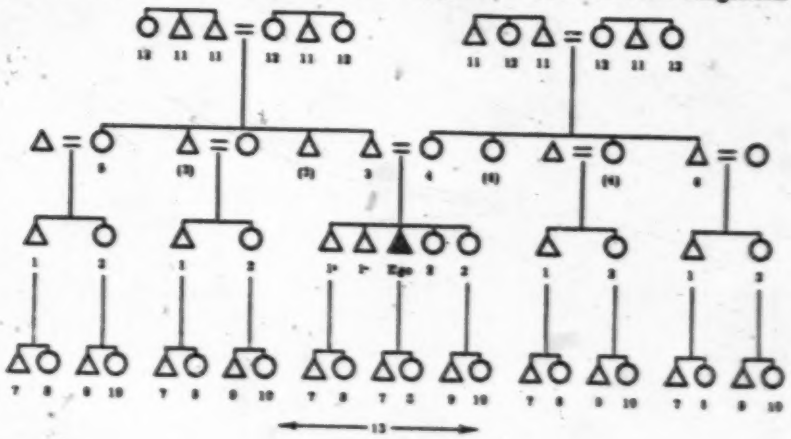
596 433 241 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapûi* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapûi's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component #174 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although 596 certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous [244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing [226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting [273] the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cãuí'* and the giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapûi* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapûi* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, #174 or manioc.

• 582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[46] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3;Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

to find among the modern Cayuá, as well as the Tapirapé and Tenetehara (Guajajara), any indication of the admission—let alone the preference—of such a marriage.[66] This marital form has been reported by several of the early chroniclers of Brazil among the coastal Tupi and is dealt with in more modern terms by Kirchhoff[67] and Lowie.[68] In the coastal tribes of the 16th century the groom, unless he were the maternal uncle of the bride, became a sort of servant of his father-in-law, aiding him in economic undertakings, avenging him in disputes, and similar obligations. There were also obligations



Key

1. Brother
2. Sister
3. Father
4. Mother
5. Father's sister
6. Mother's brother
7. Son
8. Daughter
9. Nephew
10. Niece
11. Grandfather
12. Grandmother
13. Grandchildren (irrespective of sex)
+. Older
−. Younger
( ). Slightly modified term

Ego being a Woman:

7. Nephew 8. Niece 9. Son 10. Daughter

FIG. 1.—Cayuá Kinship Terminology

to the brother-in-law associated with the usage. The arrangement related to a presumed pattern of temporary (or for that matter, perhaps permanent) matrilocality; but if the mother's brother were the groom, residence might not be matri- but patrilocal. In this case, the sister's daughter (the bride) came to reside with her husband-uncle. This was reasonable if the bride were

[66] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, pp. 22-23. [67] Kirchhoff, 1931. [68] Lowie, 1930.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

considered as the payment or return of a "debt" incurred when the bride's mother was originally married out of the extended family group in which she had grown up; the daughter was returned to her mother's extended family by the consummation of marriage with the mother's brother. The original debt was thus cancelled and the father of the girl released from his obligations.

But in the case of a marriage with someone other than a mother's brother, residence would be matrilocal—at least temporarily so—and there were economic obligations of such a groom to his father-in-law. Residence with the wife's kin and bride service continued until there had been a female (?) issue of the union. A female child, that is, constituted the promise of a return payment (by marriage) for the woman who had been "lost" in the initial marriage to a man from another extended family. In other words, matrilocality seems to have been temporary—until female issue was born—and it applied primarily in the case of a groom who was not the bride's mother's brother; otherwise, patrilocality.

The writer does not agree with Wagley and Galvão when they state that residence was (apparently permanently) matrilocal and when they appear to conclude that the marriage form reported for the early coastal Tupi may never have existed among the Cayuá. Over against their conclusion—and a point which cannot be fully developed here—are certain facts of Cayuá kinship terminology. Certain modern terminological provisions lack corresponding kinship behavior at the present time, and these discrepancies are particularly suggestive in the light of the avuncular system sketched above. At present, a sister's daughter is called by a special term, but she is so designated only by males. (Females do not call sister's daughter or, more particularly, brother's son by any parallel term.) "Daughter" is the term uniformly used for all other female relatives of the first descending generation, man speaking. Why then, a special term for sister's daughter, if not probably to express a special relationship? The implication is reinforced by the fact that such a special relationship, as we have said, is reported among the coastal Tupi, which fact must in turn be viewed in the light of the generally close similarity of the Cayuá with this and other Tupi-Guarani peoples, through both space and time.

The Cayuá kinship system otherwise was probably much the same aboriginally as at present. In Ego's generation all relatives were called "brother" and "sister," but same-sexed siblings were distinguished as "older" and "younger." That is, sisters were distinguished as to seniority by females, and brothers were so distinguished by males. Father's brother and mother's sister were classified with the respective parents of Ego, while father's sister and mother's brother were classified apart. Correspondingly, children of one's same-sexed siblings were considered as own children, while children of opposite-sexed siblings were called by special terms, logical equivalents of "nephew" and "niece." However, male Ego's term for "nephew," *ierí'ý*, was almost

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

identical to male Ego's "son," *Iwa'ỹ;* and male Ego's "daughter" was *Iwajỹ* (phonetically a close variant of "son," *Iwa'ỹ*). But male Ego's "niece" (sister's daughter) was *Iesiṗé*, quite a different term phonemically. *Iesiṗé* is the relative involved if the Cayuá kinship system corresponded to that of the coastal Tupi on the point of the avuncular marriage. "Nephews" and "nieces," then, were the children of a man's sister, while for a woman they were the children of a brother. For a woman, however, both "niece" and "nephew" (brother's children) were called by the same term, *Iesṗé*. In other words, while male Ego distinguished "niece" and "nephew" as to sex—the term for "niece" differing radically from others for siblings' offspring, female Ego did not distinguish them terminologically. This is further indirect support for the former existence among the Cayuá of preferential marriage.[18]

The avuncular marriage was admirably suited to tying together various extended families of a local group by marital bonds—a common function of marriage in social organization.

The Cayuá had terms for grandparents, distinguishing them according to sex and extending to brothers and sisters of lineal grandparents. Only one term is now used for all grandchildren by either a male or female Ego. However, judging from other Tupí-Guarani peoples, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, as well as from the early missionary-compiled dictionaries, the Cayuá perhaps formerly had a separate term for grandchildren depending upon the sex of the speaker.[19]

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little is known or can be surmised of aboriginal Cayuá leadership or political organization. A household headman has been mentioned and was probably the eldest, most influential, or most respected male of each *tapúi*. Presumably it was this man to whom the early documents referred when they spoke of the "*tábisha*" or "caciqce," but it is difficult to know if each household was largely autonomous or if one elder, or a council, was as a rule in limited ascendency over the several households of a local group. The latter seems likely to have been the case. As has been frequently pointed out in similar situations, however, it is not easy to judge how much political authority such officers actually had since it has been a common and immediate result of white contact to increase and centralise native political authority. A council of household leaders is indirectly suggested in some of the early chronicles. It is here again hard to tell if such was a normal thing or a special arrangement evoked by the unprecedented problems created by the coming of the Europeans.

[18] Montoya, 1876, Column 471, gives substantially the same term for the sister's daughter relationship, man speaking, as is registered for the modern Cayuá (17th century data).

[19] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 17.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

proximity to kin or proximity to *kokué* is evident in any case. The "summer house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed.

A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between maternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one time existed in Cayuá culture. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced: The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupi for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.)

A Change of Economic Attitudes

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of goods and services and; in the second place, the relation of the individual to his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others."[146] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more concerned with joint or familial interests and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *tapái*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *kokué*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common sustenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed the pleasure and solidarity such interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own luck happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family members worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[147]

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the *puhirão*. This work may have involved the members of more than a single extended family, and such inter-familial joint work parties probably helped bind together in interaction

[146] Mead, 1937, p. 16. [147] *Ibid.*

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 595 peoples is open to question. The possibility of such an influence must certainly be kept in mind. As for the Neo-Brazilians, some direct influence against Cayuá polygyny is almost certain, though it has probably been quite limited. It has been limited both because of the ease of concealment from whites by Cayuá of their marital status, and because Neo-Brazilian influence in this respect could only be highly informal under existing conditions and not a matter of concerted action. Our own observations in the field lead to the opinion that the local whites actually have very little correct information of the Cayuá culture. They are to a large extent rather unconcerned about it, except in such matters as the availability of workers for *changa* and the suspicion of alleged property depredations by Indians. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider direct white influences as but one more contributing factor in the decline of polygyny, not a cause set apart by its importance.

*177 182 • 582 602 II. B. *1.* "Kinship system: presumptive marital rights of mother's brother to sister's daughter (avuncular marriage) disappear." It has already been suggested that the Cayuá kinship system was aboriginally characterized by the avuncular form of marriage reported for the Coastal Tupi, although the former presence of the usage is not directly borne out by modern kinship practices. (See pp. 34–37.) At present, the mother's brother-sister's daughter marriage not only is not presumptive but is widely considered incestuous. Can we account for such a change in terms of acculturational factors and hence indirectly strengthen our contention of the aboriginal existence of this avuncular form? To do so, we will have to understand something of how the preferential marriage operated.[178]

621 591 The aboriginal Cayuá village was composed of several, rather independent households, each living in a single large dwelling or *tapúi*. Some sort of coheaive force is indicated as a means of linking the various households and lineages of the local Cayuá community. Marital ties are, of course, a well recognized, universal means of social cohesion; in simple communities they are the most important or even the exclusive means of inter-familial alliance. With patrilocal residence (coupled with temporary matrilocality, probably, in the case of a non-avuncular marriage) a completely feasible way of relating households through kinship was the marriage of the sister's daughter to the mother's brother, as shown in Figure 3. When the mother's brother's presumptive marriage was realised during successive generations, or even if it were somewhat less regularly realised, it served the purpose of closely relating one extended household to the other in the local community. With an extended family and a rule of patrilocality, the presumptive spouses came from different households and different extended families. Moreover, all members of Ego's own generation, cross and parallel cousins, at least of the first degree, were classed as siblings.

[178] In connection with the following hypothesis the writer is very much indebted to Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for discussions in which many of the important points were brought out. Some repetition of previous description unfortunately seems unavoidable here.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Thus an even broader extension of the inter-household relationship was possible (that is, including other than own sisters) than if the marital claim were restricted merely to Ego's own sister's daughters.[177]

Two widely recognized and accepted principles of kinship have been appealed to in the foregoing interpretation of the aboriginal Cayuá kinship system; these principles were operative if the situation was as has been described. (1) Matrimony in primitive (and other) societies is intimately con-

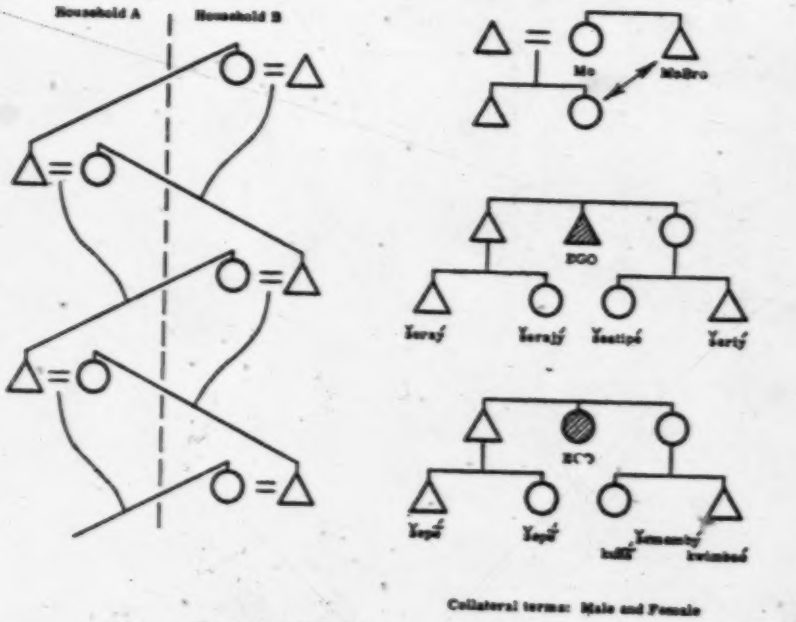


FIG. 3. The Preferential Avuncular Marriage.

cerned with cementing group alliances between different families and clans. (2) There is often no incest tabu between persons who are members of different kinship or locality groups as socially defined, whatever the biological facts of their relationship. The matter of locality is probably crucial in many cases;

[177] Cross-cousin marriage, in the case of a rule of uniform locality (with the family of either spouse), would accomplish the same purpose of linking households through kinship. Simple cross-cousin marriage, however, is not indicated for the Cayuá at present (cousins are called siblings). Perhaps this is in some way because of the bilateral emphasis of the kinship system or, at least, because of the weak development of unilateral sentiments—if such, indeed, exist. But the presumptive marital claim of the chart above was actually asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage in that sister's daughter is also Ego's mother's brother's daughter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

177 182 582 601 [596] [591] separate or distant residence may be sufficient to warrant exclusion of a person from the incest group. The following speculation as to what has happened in Cayuá social organization is therefore offered: (1) As a result of acculturational forces (II. B. e.) extended families, which were formerly allied by certain matrimonial ties, have ceased to exist. The related matrimonial ties of alliance have likewise disappeared. (2) It was formerly significant, regarding permissible marriages, whether or not a woman belonged to one's own extended family and residence group. A man could not marry a woman belonging to his own residence group (nor could he wed sisters and parallel cousins) but he might marry one from another household, which would include, given patrilocal residence, sisters' daughters. (3) The significance of residence has been lost or changed since, at present, none but one's own wife and children (or parents and siblings, depending on the point of reference) normally lives in the same (elementary family) group. Thus sister's daughter is now in this respect no different from—in fact may be significantly parallel to—other female relatives who are and aboriginally were encompassed by Cayuá sentiments of incest.

The argument might be restated as follows: with the disappearance of the extended family, a type of preferential marriage or presumptive marital claim, as well as the particular notion of the incest boundary associated with it, were evidently subject to change. For one thing, there was no longer a question of cementing ties between particular extended family households, such as that into which a man's sister had married. Concerning ties between elementary families, since whatever marriage normally involves a spouse from some other elementary family, a marital alliance with one potential affinal group is theoretically as advantageous as with another. Moreover, in the former extended family the incest boundary apparently included all female relatives, at least to the degree of first cousin, and their children. The one exception was sister's daughter, man speaking. In the realignments attending the loss of the extended family, we suggest that the incest boundary came to include this formerly excepted relationship as well. Other things being equal, there would be a strain in such a direction. In the first place, both parallel and cross cousins are called brothers and sisters, and secondly, marriage with the children of brothers was aboriginally tabooed for men, while marriage with the children of any sibling was tabooed for women. The sister's-daughter marriage, therefore, in the new situation, and without special motives in its favor, would tend to be brought into line with the incest taboo against marriage with other relatives parallel to sister's daughter.

177 182 582 59 One function of the presumptive avuncular marriage was to "consolidate" a given household through marriage back into it of the female issue of its women. The possibility of such a correlation is strong aboriginally. This operated much as the cross-cousin marriage does in certain cultures. But with (II. B. e.) the dissolution of the extended family household in favor of the

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

elementary family unit, any such consolidating function of marriage tended to disappear. The avuncular marriage assumes a continuity of family through generations, a continuity not characteristic of the present elementary family. It involves the marriage of a son to a daughter's daughter. A given son at the present time, however will ultimately establish a household of his own. No marriage of his could, in the aboriginal sense, therefore, bring into the (extended) family a female, whether to replace that "lost" to them through the marriage of his sister, or for any other reason. Aboriginally the son in question often did not wait to contract his (first) marriage until a daughter of one of his sisters had been born and come of age; ordinarily he already had established a family of his own long before the time a sister's daughter was old enough to marry. Nowadays this would mean the previous establishment of a separate household. A marriage to the sister's daughter at present could not thus return that female to the same household which the sister had left in marrying. In other words, in the absence of the continuity of residence and lineage over succeeding generations, inherent in the extended family, the "return" or replacement of females to the same household from which their mothers had come could not operate in the same way.

This suggests another modern inconsistency with the avuncular marriage, (II. B. d.) the prevalent monogamy of the present day. With aboriginal polygyny (the frequency of which we do not know), marriage with the sister's daughter was not as difficult as now. With the possibility of more than one wife, the mother's brother need not wait, as we have said before, for a daughter to be born to his sister and to come of age. He might already have married at least one wife in the meantime.[173] Only later, therefore, did he come to consider marriage with his sister's daughter, when the latter was old enough. Polygyny, far from being a disadvantage, was then somewhat of an advantage because of the economic productivity of the female. Nowadays, if he married first and later also married his niece, the resulting economic burden of more than one wife would usually be too great.

II, B. h. "Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal (extended family) household heads and former decentralized control." In the changed political structure of the modern Cayuá, two factors have been particularly effective. They are (I. c.) the establishment of the Cayuá on *reservas* administered by the SPI, and (I. h.) white political influence for centralization stemming from the tendency of Europeans to insist upon "talking to the head man." Very likely the white assumption of a "leader," a general trait of Europeans, resulted in the institution of the *capitão* long before the SPI appeared on the scene. The case of the Cayuá is far from being exceptional in this respect.

[173] Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 204 ff.

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
182 that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
60 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
433 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the mater-
nal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the
men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes
beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582 9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação
604 dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil
[113] /Information about the marriages of the
Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures
organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and
mimeographed by the Escola Livre de
Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113] 10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena
/Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908,
p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

/45 cont./

124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
•582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).
[184]

11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.
[114]

[684] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

121 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number
171 of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá
60 kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speaking the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingud* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction.

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law.

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingud*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal.

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul.

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingud* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk.

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingud* of Paraguay inter the

[4] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: " . . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unos grandes tinajones, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviesen unos contando el dinero aunque estos tinajones los enterraban hasta el cuello."